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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the postmodern challenge to how we have come to see, represent, and practice comparative and international education, beginning with the 1977 "State of the Art" special issue of the "Comparative Education Review" and up to the contributions of the Social Cartography Project at the University of Pittsburgh in 1998. The paper is organized around three questions: (1) how might a close reading of the relevant literature on the postmodernity debate be used to identify major positions or arguments? (2) how might these positions, or knowledge communities, be interrelated and mapped as sites in an intertextual field? and (3) using this heterotopia of conflicting views in one place, what might be reasonably concluded about the postmodern challenge of multiperspectivism and its impact on how comparativists might choose to construct and represent their world? (Author/SM)

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COMPARATIVE EDUCATION AFTER POSTMODERNITY

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the postmodern challenge to comparative education beginning with the 1977 "State of the Art" special issue of the Comparative Education Review under the editorship of Andeas Kazamias up to the contributions of the Social Cartography Project at the University of Pittsburgh in 1998. The paper is organized around three questions, i.e., 1) How might a close reading of the relevant literature on the postmodernity debate be used to identify major positions or arguments? 2) How might these positions, or knowledge communities, be inter-related and mapped as sites in an intertextual field? And, 3) using this heterotopia of conflicting views in one place, what might we reasonably conclude about the postmodern challenge of mutiperspectivism and its impact on how we as comparativists might choose to construct and represent our world?

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COMPARATIVE EDUCATION

AFTER POSTMODERNITY

Two extravagances: to exclude Reason, to admit only Reason.

Blaise Pascal, Pensees

He who would do good to another must do so in Minute Particulars: General Good is the plea of the scoundrel, hypocrite and flatterer; For Art and Science cannot exist but in minutely organized Particulars.

William Blake, Jerusalem

This paper examines the postmodern challenge to how we have come to see, represent, and practice Comparative and International Education. More specifically, three questions are asked, i.e., 1) Can a review of the relevant literature identify and type major positions or arguments in the postmodernism debate? 2) How might these positions or knowledge communities be mapped as a discursive field of diverse perspectives and relations? Then, 3) using this "heterotopia" of different ways of seeing Blake's Minute Particulars, or mininarratives, in one space, I ask 3) What might we reasonably conclude about the postmodern challenge of multiperspectivism and its impact on how we as comparativists choose to represent our world?

But first a few words concerning key concepts and methods used in this study as we rethink our scholarly practice and the status of our various knowledge claims. I make no distinction in using the terms postmodern, postmodernism or postmodernity, although books have been written to do so.[1] My only interest in these terms is to identify and map all the texts I could find on the topic, i.e. some 60. By presenting the postmodernity debate in comparative education and related discourse as an ensemble of textual relations, I hope to avoid giving the appearance of dualism and a binary struggle of opposites. On the contrary, I view all positions in the field as variously interrelated and perhaps best understood as an intertextual space opened for the negotiation of meanings and values.

In order to type and map I must first enter into the texts and uncover how reality is seen (i.e., ontology). On what historical rules or codes are truth claims based (i.e., genealogy)? And how does the narrative framing process chosen produce a perspective, or narrative of transmission (i.e., narratology)? In choosing narrative as a thematic frame, I seek to highlight specific dimensions of texts in the debate. In as much as theming of ideas and "aboutness" means foregrounding some aspects of the text at the expense of others, there may not be one frame through which we can see the whole text.

Accordingly, my reading can only be understood in light of the possible heterogeneity of each text. Readings by others, including authors, would most likely produce different interpretations and mappings. Sharing and critiquing our interpretive and cartographic collaborations will help us to better know ourselves, others, and the world we jointly construct. The point to remember here is that my purpose is to read and interpret written texts, not authors. This requires that, to the extent possible, texts be allowed to speak for themselves, to tell-with the use of quotes-their own stories.

I have always understood the postmodern condition as ironic sensibility, as a growing reflexive awareness, an increasing consciousness of self, space and multiplicity. Where the Enlightenment Project has typically used reason and science in efforts to make the strange normal, advocates of the Anti-Enlightenment,[2] and most recently the postmodernists, have sought to render the familiar strange, or uncertain. This brings to mind the earlier contrast of Apollonian harmony and rationality and Dionysian decentering and deconstruction found in classical thought. The specific theses of postmodernist advocates, i.e. the present-day Dionysians, since about the 1960's focus on what they see as the false certainties of modernity. Perhaps we might take note of five postmodern theses in particular.[3] Foremost is a rejection of Enlightenment foundations found in the grand narratives of Progress, Emancipation and Reason. These metanarratives are viewed as "terror" silencing the small narratives, or in Blake's terms, the Minute Particulars of the Other.

A second thesis is the rejection of universal or hegemonic knowledge and any a priori privileging of a given regime of truth (i.e., functionalism, Marxism, postmodernism, or the like), and the need for a critical anti-hegemonic pluralism, the choice I make here, in social inquiry.

A third thesis critiques attempts to adjudicate between competing cognitive and theoretical claims from a position of assumed or usurped privilege. Rather, postmodern texts see

all knowledge claims to be problematic. The idea of universal unsituated knowledge which can set us free is seen to be a naive, if perhaps well intentioned, self delusion. Here feminist texts in their rejection of patriarchal truth claims add the notion of a heterogeneous self to the postmodernist's critique. In total contrast to the Cartesian autonomous actor found in modernity texts, identity in the postmodern is seen to be mutable and contextually variable. Bodies are also seen as a contested terrain upon which to think differently about who we are and might become.

A fourth thesis argued in postmodern texts attacks Eurocentrism and seeks to open knowledge practice to postcolonial experiences and to non-Western cultural codes and interpretations.

The fifth thesis argues for a shift in research from time to space, from facts to interpretations, from grounded positions to narrative readings, from testing propositions to mapping difference.

Perhaps the single most important characteristic of postmodern sensibility is an ontological shift from an essentialist view of one fixed reality, i.e., reason as the controlling principle of the universe, to an anti-essentialist view where reality constructs are seen to resist closure and multiple and diverse truth claims become part of a continuous agonistic struggle.

The central question of social change in the larger postmodernism debate is also at issue in the more recent and smaller debate in comparative education. That is, do contemporary developments- as postmodernists are prone to argue- mark a movement toward a distinct new form of social conditions characterized by non-mechanical yet complex relations system which, ". . . appear as a space of chaos and chronic indeterminacy, a territory subjected to rival and contradictory meaning bestowing claims and hence perpetually ambivalent?"[4] Or, in contrast, as neo-modernists texts are prone to argue, are contemporary developments best viewed as rational processes internal to the development of a global and reflexive "late modernity?"[5]

Before examining illustrative texts constructing positions in this debate, we might first note some foreshadowing of these exchanges during the earlier paradigm wars. In the 1977 State of the Art issue of the Comparative Education Review edited by Andreas Kazamias and Carl Schwartz, for example, the cover pictures a broken house of knowledge signifying, in my reading, the conflicted state of the field at that time (see Figure 1 below). Yet, note that the perplexed egghead professor remains whole and apart, a senior male in ivy league attire. This

SPECIAL ISSUE: THE STATE OF THE ART

Fig. 1. —A late modernist cartoon portraying the once solid structure of comparative education after the paradigm wars of the 1970s and structural deconstruction. The question seems to arise, ie. How are we to retain our modern identity yet deal with the crisis? Source: Comparative Education Review 21 (June/October 1977): Cover.

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image suggests a material world in structural disarray. It seems to ask if the power of rational professorial thought (i.e., theory) can put the field on a new foundation?

(Figure 1 about here)

In a contribution to this issue, I proposed the solution that comparative educators make a spatial turn and become more reflexive practitioners. I sought:

> . . . to stimulate greater awareness of how individual views of social reality and social change tend to channel and filter perceptions, and to look at alternative possibilities for representing educational change potentials and constraints. To this end, I delineated the total range of theoretical perspectives that had been used to support educational reform strategies and to suggest how individual choice behaviors follow from basic philosophical, ideological and experimental orientations to perceived social reality.[6]

For the first time a phenomenological—albeit conflicted and static—portrait of how some 320 international texts constructed multiple educational reform realities appeared in a comparative education journal.

Figure 2 about here)

In contrast, C. Arnold Anderson looking back to 1950 argued in this special issue for a continued orthodoxy of high modernity. To quote this founding father of CIES, "I continue to insist that traditional social science disciplines should remain the foundations for work in this field."[7] He further advocated skill in constructing theoretical models and formulating sound nomothetic conclusions. To be avoided were fashionable ideologies and their semantics, clichés, and novelties. Instead, he advised our field to produce solid scholarship by avoiding anthropology and ethnomethodology better to embrace sociology and economics. In conclusion, Anderson offered guarded optimism for continued progress in CIES, but only if the field "avoids weary new panaceas" and works harder at, in his words, the "identification of functional equivalents for the basic structures and functions of educational systems."[8] A cliché, of the first order!

My contribution focused on the space of texts in the literary construction of national educational reform debates, and used what Foucault has called a genealogical approach to pattern texts as theoretical windows opening to multiple realities. Anderson's text, in contrast, argued the case for an orthodoxy of nomothetic research capable of generating hypotheses, covering laws,

RELATIONS BETWEEN THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE/"REFORM"

Social Change		*Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational-Change Potentials and Processes*			
Paradigms	*"Theories"*	*Re Preconditions for Educational Change*	*Re Rationales for Educational Change*	*Re Scope and Process of Educational Change*	*Re Major Outcomes Sought*
Equilibrium	Evolutionary	State of evolutionary readiness	Pressure to move to a higher evolutionary stage	Incremental and adaptive; "natural history" approach	New stage of institutional evolutional adaptation
	Neo-Evolutionary	Satisfactory completion of earlier stages	Required to support "national modernization" efforts	"Institution building" using Western models and technical assistance	New "higher" state of education and social differentiation/specialization
	Structural-Functionists	Altered functional and structural requisites	Social system need provoking an educational response; exogenous threats	Incremental adjustment of existing institutions, occasionally major	Continued "homeostasis" or "moving" equilibrium; "human capital" and national "development"
	Systems	Technical expertise in "systems management." "Rational decision making" and "needs assessment"	Need for greater efficiency in system's operation and goal achievement; i.e., response to a system "malfunction"	Innovative "problem solving" in existing systems: i.e., "Research and Development approach"	Improved "efficiency" re costs/benefits; adoption of innovations
	Marxian	Elite's awareness of need for change; or shift of power to socialist rulers and educational reformers	To adjust correspondence between social relations of production and social relations of schooling	Adjustive incremental following social mutations or radical restructuring with Marxist predominance	Formation of integrated workers, i.e., the new "Socialist Man"

Fig. 2.—A fixed typology presenting a phenomological comparison of how the international literature may be seen to construct national educational and social change/.reform. Source: Rolland G. Paulston, "Social Educational Change: Conceptual Frameworks" Comparative Education Review 21 (June/October 1977): 372-373.

Conflict	Neo-Marxian	Increased political power and political awareness of oppressed groups	Demands for social justice and social equality	Large-scale national reforms through "democratic" institutions and processes	Eliminate "educational privilege" and "elitism"; create a more equalitarian society
	Cultural Revitalization	Rise of a collective effort to revive or create "a new culture." Social tolerance for "deviant" normative movements and their educational programs	Rejection of conventional schooling as forced acculturation. Education needed to support advance toward movement goals	Creation of alternative schools or educational settings. If movement captures polity, radical change in national educational ideology and structure	Inculcate new normative system. Meet movement's recruitment, training, and solidarity needs
	Anarchistic Utopian	Creation of supportive settings; growth of critical consciousness; social pluralism	Free man from institutional and social constraints. Enhance creativity need for "life-long learning"	Isolated "freeing up" of existing programs and institutions, or create new learning modes and settings, i.e., a "learning society"	Self-renewal and participation. Local control of resources and community; elimination of exploitation and alienation

and modernization theory based on the primacy of autonomous, professional actors measuring the way things really are. Editors Andreas Kazamias and Karl Schwartz stake out a third and more pragmatic position somewhere between my hermeneutical interpretivism and Anderson's partriarchal logocentrism. While firmly grounded in a realist ontology, the two editors chart a road ahead for the increasingly disputations field of comparative education with their sensible call for a greater openness to cultural and critical approaches (my bias), for increased attention to pedagogical practice and teacher education (their bias), and for a view that sees social science (Anderson's bias) as "pluralistic, modest and open."[9]

Today, some 22 years later in our more heterogeneous time, it is possible with exegetic analysis to identify at least five knowledge communities in comparative education discourse that are more or less favorable to, if not proponents of, postmodernist views. These are the sites of 1) Postmodernist Deconstructions, 2) Radical Alterity, 3) Semiotic Society, 4) Reflexive Practitioner, and 5) Social Cartography. All five tend to locate the emergence of postmodernism after the 1970s as a periodizing concept, and accordingly, as external to modernity. Modernity theorists of all stripes, in contrast, while they may acknowledge the postmodernist critique, tend to situate, as with Habermas, the postmodern debate as internal to and only comprehensible in terms of the notion of late modernity. In my close reading of the 60 or so texts selected, four modernist genres or positions in the debate emerged, i.e., 1) Metanarratives of Reason, Emancipation and Progress, 2) Rational Actor Gaming, 3) Critical Modernist Appropriations, and 4) Reflexive Modernity Adaptations. These sites can be characterized, mapped, and compared according to how they choose to understand reality, and how they problematize practice. These differences construct Figure 3 below, where we now turn our attention to the left, or postmodernism side of the debate field.

(Figure 3 about here)

Postmodernist Deconstructions

With the publication of his presidential address in 1991, Val Rust opened CIES discourse to the debate on postmodern ideas, a far-ranging controversy that has energized and destabilized much of intellectual life in the academy since the 1970s. Rust introduced deconstructivist arguments of the French poststructuralists Derrida, Foucault and Lyotard, ideas that reject the basic language and realist assumptions of the modern age. Arguing that the comparative education community has played almost no role in this discussion, Rust selected four aspects of

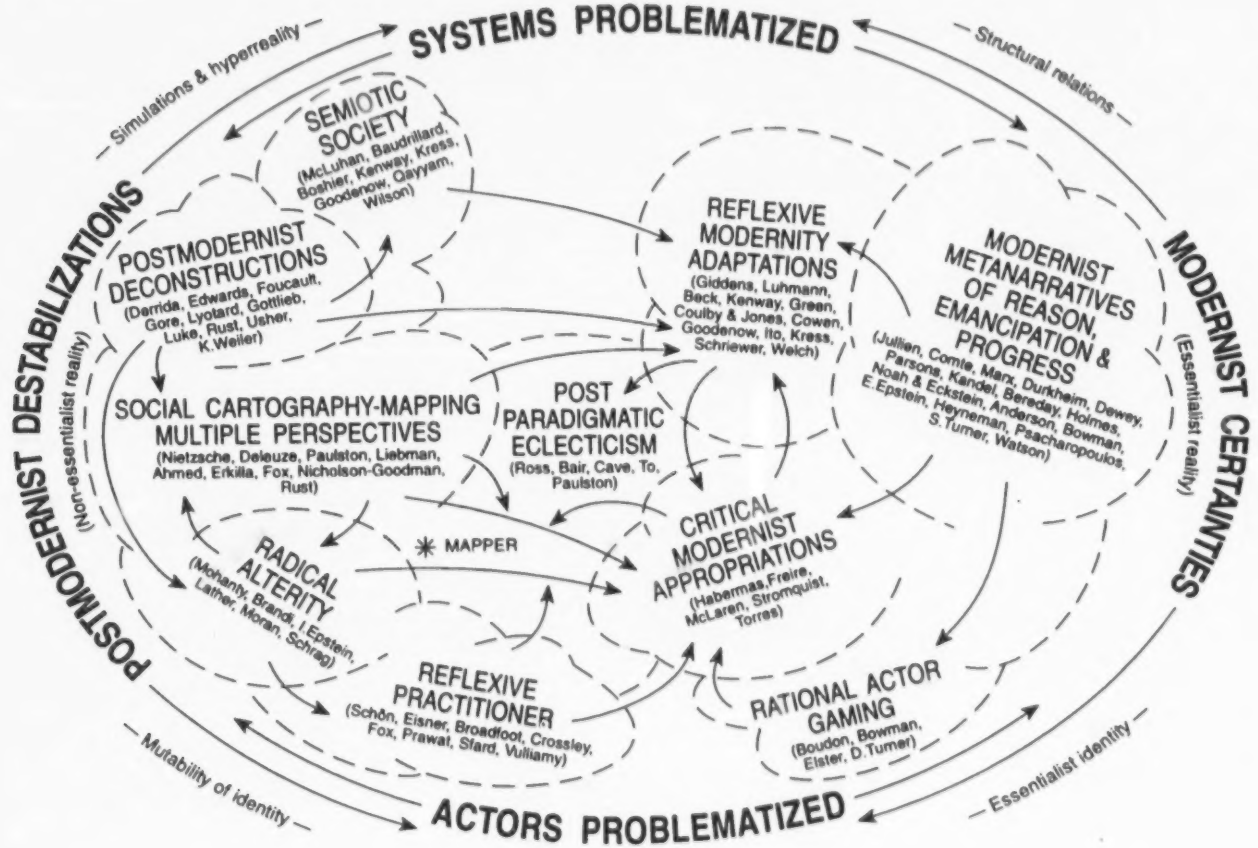
SYSTEMS PROBLEMATIZED
Simulations & hyperreality
Structural relations
POSTMODERNIST DESTABILIZATIONS
(Non-essentialist reality)
MODERNIST CERTAINTIES
(Essentialist reality)
SEMIOTIC SOCIETY
(McLuhan, Baudrillard, Boshier, Kenway, Kress, Goodenow, Qayyum, Wilson)
POSTMODERNIST DECONSTRUCTIONS
(Derrida, Edwards, Foucault, Gore, Lyotard, Gottlieb, Luke, Rust, Usher, K.Weiler)
REFLEXIVE MODERNITY ADAPTATIONS
(Giddens, Luhmann, Beck, Kenway, Green, Coulby & Jones, Cowen, Goodenow, Ito, Kress, Schriewer, Welch)
MODERNIST METANARRATIVES OF REASON, EMANCIPATION & PROGRESS
(Jullien, Comte, Marx, Durkheim, Dewey, Parsons, Kandel, Bereday, Holmes, Noah & Eckstein, Anderson, Bowman, E.Epstein, Heyneman, Psacharopoulos, S.Turner, Watson)
SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY-MAPPING MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES
(Nietzsche, Deleuze, Paulston, Liebman, Ahmed, Erkilla, Fox, Nicholson-Goodman, Rust)
POST PARADIGMATIC ECLECTICISM
(Ross, Bair, Cave, To, Paulston)
MAPPER
RADICAL ALTERITY
(Mohanty, Brandt, I.Epstein, Lather, Moran, Schrag)
CRITICAL MODERNIST APPROPRIATIONS
(Habermas,Freire, McLaren, Stromquist, Torres)
REFLEXIVE PRACTITIONER
(Schön, Eisner, Broadfoot, Crossley, Fox, Prawat, Sfard, Vulliamy)
RATIONAL ACTOR GAMING
(Boudon, Bowman, Elster, D.Turner)
Mutability of identity
ACTORS PROBLEMATIZED
Essentialist identity

Fig. 3—.A metaphorical mapping of knowledge positions constructing the postmodernity debate in comparative education (and related) discourse. In this open intertextual field, arrows suggest intellectual flows, and proper names refer not to authors, but to illustrative texts cited in the paper and juxtaposed above. In contrast to utopias (ie. sites with no real place) much favored by modernist texts, this figure draws inspiration from Michel Foucault's notion of "heterotopias." These are the simultaneously mythic and real spaces of contested everyday life. Postmodernist texts favor heterotopias, as above, because they are "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible." See Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," diacritics (Spring 1986): 25.

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postmodernism that he considered to be crucial for a postmodern understanding of our field today, i.e., 1) the critique of the totalitarian nature of metanarratives, 2) recognition of the problems of the Other, 3) recognition of the development, through technology, of an information society, and 4) an opening to new possibilities for art and aesthetics in everyday life.[10]

While Rust presents a compelling case for the utility of postmodern ideas in our era, his analysis remains strongly realist, even melioristic:

> We comparative educators must discuss the opportunities of the incipient age. . . . We must define more clearly the metanarratives that have driven our field . . . we must engage in the critical task of disassembling those narratives because they define what comparativists find acceptable . . . we must increase our attention to small narratives . . . we must learn to balance high and popular culture.[11]

As Rust's text demonstrates, letting go of modernity's language, let alone its essentialist and instrumental vision, is easier advocated than achieved. But no matter the contradictions between his text and his message, Rust's pioneering call to move away from a universal belief system toward a plurality of belief systems remains timely and exciting. Unfortunately, it evoked little if any response in CIES discourse until 1994 when Liebman and I used Rust's critique to support our invitation to a postmodern social cartography.[12]

In contrast to the certainty of Rust's text about the instrumental utility of postmodern ideas, the British scholars Usher and Edwards in their 1994 text advocate a more ludic, or playful, approach so as better to avoid creating the monster of a new postmodern metanarrative. To quote their text:

> Our attitude to the postmodern is ambivalent. We agree that to be consistently postmodern, one should never call oneself a postmodern. There is a self-referential irony about this which we find lucidly apt in encapsulating our relationships as authors to this text. At the least, we . . . have let the postmodern 'speak' through those texts [that] exemplify it.[13]

And in an opening up of Rust's earlier manifesto, Usher and Edwards problematize and deconstruct the very notion of emancipation in the project of modernity to show what they see as its oppressive assumptions and consequences, particularly in the field of education. In this they side with Jacques Derrida in a desire to dissolve binary oppositions, to argue that education like

power is neither inherently repressive nor liberational, but perhaps both—or neither. Here, there is no Hegelian synthesis where opposition can be transcended by correct ideas or a more logical argument. Rather, they see, as did F. Nietzsche, a continual and unresolvable tension and struggle of perspectives. Given this scenario, Usher and Edwards argue for an education of resistance to disrupt metanarrative power whatever its intent. Or to quote their accessible text:

> . . . it is in disrupting the exercise of power rather than in seeking to overcome it, that resistance can take form. The postmodern moment can enable us to transgress the boundaries of modernity rather than be contained within them. Resistance and transgressions, rather than emancipation, signify the possibilities for challenging dominant forms of power. It is analogous to Gramsci's war of maneuver rather than the war of attrition. And it is a war without end, a constant refusal of mastery, and of being mastered.[14]

In this, they share Whitson's contention that the postmodern is, perhaps, best seen as an attempt at the anti-hegemonic without being counter-hegemonic and thus risking incorporation as a relatively harmless rhetoric—as with much of critical pedagogy—into the dominant structure of control.[15]

Radical Alterity

The Radical Alterity battalions of the postmodernist forces apply Derriderian and subalterian ideas of the Other, and seek to decenter and topple modernist control structures (i.e. hierarchy and patriarchy) with new possibilities opened by non-essentialist notions of body and identity. Where modernist texts see science, morality, and art as stubbornly differentiated, advocates of a radical alterity see the self after postmodernity as both a construct of multiple forms of speech, diverse language games, and variegated narratives, and as an action-oriented self defined by the ways in which it communicates. As Calvin Schrag puts it, the self after postmodernity is open to understanding through its discourse, its actions, its being together in community, and its experience of transcendence. In contrast, "The modernist grammars of unity, totality, identity, sameness, and consensus find little employment in postmodernist thinking."[16] Instead, texts of the radical alterity community take up Lyotard's warning that forced consensus does violence to the free play of language games, and that our new interpretive categories of heterogeneity, multiplicity, diversity, difference, and dissensus are now available to interrogate and deconstruct modernist views of the autonomous Cartesian self (as represented

by the professor in Figure 1) along with all its traditional metaphysics and epistemological games.

Radical alterity texts, are understandably, most often found in the discourse of ethnic and gender movements seeking to oppose the hierarchies and exclusions of modernity. These are often angry texts—as in Figure 4 below—seeking to shock, challenge, and defy. Only rarely have they appeared in the tightly controlled journals of our field. I found but three examples. Perhaps the best is a 1994 book review by Diana Brandi, then a doctoral student at Pitt. Through an accident of oversight, her review appeared in the Comparative Education Review. Brandi's text, in my reading, is first and foremost a personal attack on the book's three senior author/editors, well known and respected advocates of emancipatory modernity. She characterizes their representations of comparative education as it has emerged in the 1990s as:

> a rehash of Marxist, functionalist and structural functionalist perspectives. I found this uniformity of content, perspective and analysis not only troubling, but also puzzling. The chapters . . . lack diversity, are self-referential, and lack a rich range of theoretical choices and multi-disciplinary approaches. The book's structuralist orthodoxy precludes any critical reflection on whose views the research reflects, or how comparative education can support transformative change for a more humane world.[17]

(Figure 4 about here)

Brandi concludes that the central emerging issue for comparative education in the 1990's, and an issue the book virtually ignores, is the need to challenge the dominant hierarchies which continue to marginalize and silence the greater proportion of humankind. She contends the editors neglected more pluralistic discourses that challenge international development education and its service to structural adjustment, to militarism, and to the structural violence now being critically analyzed in other fields and disciplines. Here Brandi also challenges our field to open space for voices of the Other, as in Figure 4 below, anti-essentialist voices that will attack and reject our modernist certainties of order and progress, if not of emancipation.

One year later, Irving Epstein, in a more conciliatory vein, also argued the desirability of realigning comparative studies from the seemingly innocent practice and critique of educational planning and policy to an opening up of space for cultural studies of contested local knowledge, of ethnicity, gender, disability, and the body. These issues of the Other are, Epstein complains,

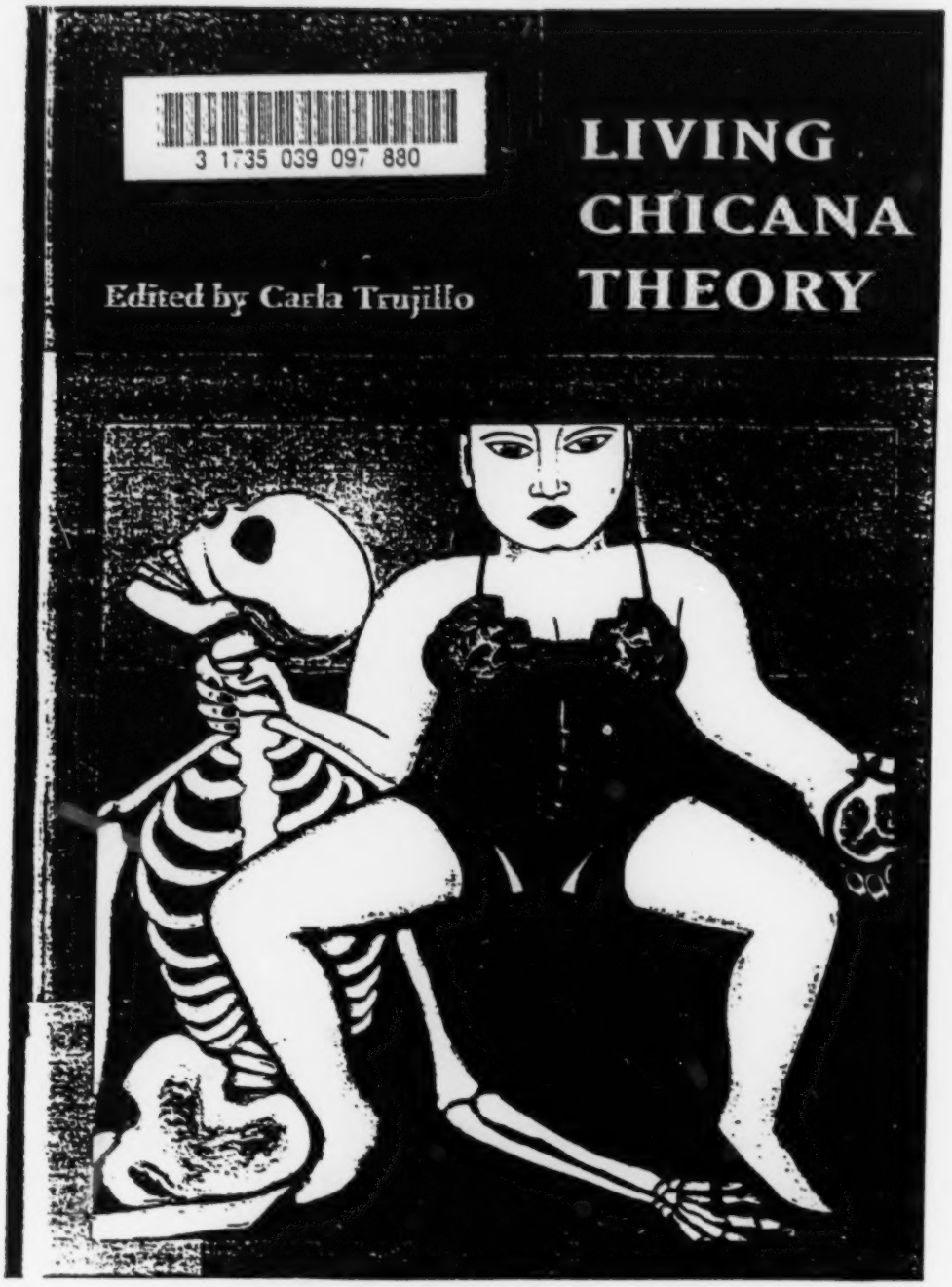

Figure 4—The Chicana represented as an iconic construct with mutable/multiple identity, i.e., as the giver and taker of life, as sex object and whore, as earth mother and portal to the spirit world. Are comparative educators ready to read and compare such strange, Dionysian constructs? Source: Carla Trujillo, ed. *Living Chicana Theory* (Berkeley: Third Women Press, 1998): Cover.

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rarely addressed in comparative education discourse, despite a proliferation of just such studies in the academy after the 1980s.[18]

Semiotic Society

The Semiotic Society perspective builds upon ideas of the Canadian Marshall McLuhan and the Frenchman, Jean Baudrillard. In his pioneering 1964 study Understanding Media, McLuhan interpreted modernity as a process of differentiation, as a virtual explosion of commodification, industrialization and market relations. These differentiations produce "hot" media. In contrast, television, as a "cool" media, is a site of implosion of all boundaries, regions and distinctions between high and low culture (i.e., "the new global village"), between appearance and reality, and between the binary oppositions maintained by traditional modernist philosophy and modernization theory.[19]

After first rejecting McLuhan's thesis during his neo-Marxist phase, Baudrillard has more recently accepted and extended McLuhan's "implosion of meaning" argument. Baudrillard's text now argues that the seemingly endless proliferation of signs and information obliterates meaning through neutralizing and dissolving all content. This leads to both a collapse of meaning and the destruction of distinctions between media and reality creating what he terms a hyper-reality. In Baudrillard's most recent texts, political economy, media and cybernetics are seen to coalesce to produce a semiotic society far beyond the stage of capitalism described by Marxism. This is the time of postmodernity in which simulation models come to constitute the world and finally devour representation. Society thus is seen to move from a capitalist productivist orientation to a neo-capitalist cybernetic order that aims at total control. Much like in television programs, models and codes come to constitute everyday life and social relations.[20] As in Brandi's text, Baudrillard's analysis sees a society subject to growing cybernetic control, where critiques that claim to be oppositional, outside, or threatening to the system become patterned into a society of simulations (i.e. copies without originals) as mere alibis which only further enhance social control.

Disneyland is Baudrillard's prime example of a hyper-reality, i.e. not the unreal but the more-than-real. In such a universe, there are no explosive contradictions, crises or even oppositions, because everything is designed and controlled. There is no reality, or even potentiality, in the name of which oppressive phenomena can be criticized and transformed because there is nothing behind the flow of signs, codes and simulacra. In this nightmare hyper-

real society, not even social critique or critical art are possible. For Baudrillard, ". . . a cool universe of digitality . . . has absorbed the world of metaphor and metonymy. The principle of simulation wins out over the reality principle of pleasure."[21] This is Baudrillard's unsettling fantasy world and it presents an extreme form of postmodern nihilism.

In a recent special issue on postmodernity and comparative education—the first in our field—in the British journal Comparative Education, three texts (none of which cite Baudrillard) address a number of more practical aspects of the so-called cyberspace challenge. Ronald Goodenow examines how the emergence of global communications networks, most notably the information superhighway, have created a new world of cyberspace as national communications systems go global. Issues of ownership and power, of how knowledge and services are defined and distributed, and of how technological have-nots gain access to networks now become major policy issues. And educators will need to become more interdisciplinary and knowledgeable of trends and debates in many areas.[22]

Gunther Kress' text more specifically asks how the constitutive principles of postmodernity, i.e. diversity, multiple reality, alterity, paralogy et al. suggest the need for new representational approaches. Today our theories of meaning—making, or semiosis, are largely grounded in late 19th century notions of stable social systems (i.e. Emile Durkheim and Talcott Parsons) and stable signs communicating stable meanings (i.e. Ferdinand de Saussere) and assumptions of an abstract reified formal appearance (i.e. Arnold Anderson). But now post-industrial societies are struggling to construct new forms of information-based economies responsive to cultural difference, change and innovation. Kress challenges comparative educators to join in the creation of new modes of thinking about meaning and how we might jointly make and remake our systems of representation "in productive interaction with multiple forms of difference."[23] Well, yes. But one wonders how Kress would interact with Figure 4, or with Baudrillard's destabilizing notions of hyperreality.

Jane Kenway's text sounds a more cautionary note in warning that educators and students need to question the cyberspace claims of both Utopians (i.e. the likes of Bill Gates) and Dystopians (i.e. the likes of Baudrillard). While granting the inevitability of the digital revolution, she councils attention to the way we produce and consume the new technologies and to associated issues of politics and justice. Teaching students about the consequences of technology is, she notes, perhaps even more important than teaching them how to operate the

machines.[24] Mary Wilson and colleagues do exactly this in their recent political economy study of the World Wide Web. Their text contends that an overwhelming American presence on the Web renders "the American perspective" the norm, or center, while the rest of the world becomes periphery. They argue that cyberspace, with its lack of boundaries and connection to geographical place, conceals U.S. dominance, and that astute educators need to recognize these factors and work to circumvent them.[25]

Reflexive Practitioner

The two remaining camps favorable to a postmodern reading of our time and our field are the Reflexive Practitioner and the Social Cartography textual genres. Both favor a hermeneutics of affirmation, and both are closely linked with the burgeoning qualitative research tradition in education. The reflexive practitioner genre especially has deep roots in Western humanism and in the Romantic Movement. In education it has resisted scientistic and technological efforts to objectify and commodify the world. During the paradigm wars of the 1970's and 1980's, the strongly humanistic reflexive perspective successfully defended Verstehen, or insight, as a key concept and goal for individual learning and knowledge work. An influential text of that time legitimating reflexive approaches in education is Donald Schön's The Reflective Practitioner.[26] Schön explored the crisis of confidence in professional knowledge and advocated a solution of moving from technical rationality to reflection in action. In comparative education, I made the same argument seeking to recognize the value of both imagination and technological reason in 1990, but to seemingly little effect.[27]

Today, postmodern attacks on modernist ways of knowing grounded in essentialist views of reality have helped to open a larger space for reflexive perspectives. For many, a reflexive perspective view of actors and systems offers a reasonable alternative to either the demanding perspective of radical postmodernity with its hermeneutics of dispair, or the perspective of a nostalgic, rule-bound modernity. For example, Patricia Broadfoot of the University of Bristol chooses this ontological middle ground in her foreword to Qualitative Educational Research in Developing Countries. Her introduction recognizes both postmodern influences, i.e. a plurality of belief systems, a recognition of multiple realities, and the influence of culture and context yet retains a clear concern for social scientific research and ". . . the progress to which it will lead."[28] Variations on this recognition of multiple viewpoints and diverse interests by scholars in the eclectic center are also becoming increasing evident in the educational research literature. Elliot

Eisner, for example, advocates a multiplicity in data representations that welcomes artistic, linguistic, and visual alternatives along with more traditional positivistic choices. But he also warns that an interpretive multiple perspectives approach may introduce dangerous ambiguity and a potential backlash:

> A genre of work can stand alone without an interpretive context when those reading, seeing, or hearing it bring that context with them. When they do not they are likely to be lost. Few people like to be lost. When the terrain is new, we need context. We also need to be sure . . . that we are not substituting novelty and cleverness for substance. In other words, we need to be our own toughest critics.[29]

Social Cartography

Texts clustered in the Social Cartography genre also share a number of defining characteristics, perhaps best captured by Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopia. In contrast to totalizing utopic (i.e. no-place) space of modernity, heterotopic spaces are the simultaneously mythic and real spaces of everyday life capable of juxtaposing in a single place a great variety of different sites which in themselves may be wildly incompatable. As William Blake noted, modernist texts favor idealistic rational utopias of General Good. In contrast, postmodernist texts favor heterotopias of situated difference and local knowledges. Figure 3 above illustrates just such a heterotopic mapping of difference. Here, within an intertextual field, all viewpoints producing a text in the CIES postmodernity debate find space and relation to other similar or totally different ways of seeing. As such, this tangled and interconnected mapping, or Deleuzian rhizome, of knowledge positions and relations can be seen as a metaphor of the debate, as a heuristic approach, and as a real site of paralogy and postmodern process. It can also be seen as a useful new spatial tool specifically created to give visual form to the growing complexity of knowledge work today. Where Pablo Picasso with analytical cubism made it possible to represent many sides of an object at the same time, social cartography also creates something in the very act of depiction. This is not simply a fragile synthesis, but a new way of looking at the world and, equivalently, a new aspect of the world to look at.[30]

The ideas behind heterotopic mappings of perspectival difference began to take form in my paper "Comparing Ways of Knowing Across Inquiry Communities" presented at the CIES

annual meeting in Pittsburgh in 1991. A number of doctoral students at Pitt then joined the project and together we worked to create a social cartography able to visualize and pattern multiplicity, be it multiple perspectives, genres, arguments, dreams, or as you will. In this heuristic, the field is also defined by the outlying positions. In modern, positivistic representations in contrast, the desire is opposite—i.e. it is to plot a central tendency where outliers, as the Other, simply disappear.

On the surface, discourse mapping appears to be a fairly simple, if demanding process of reading and juxtaposing ways of seeing in texts. I proceed in the following "cookbook" fashion, much to the horror of my postmodernist colleagues:

1) Choose the issue or debate to be mapped;
2) Select the widest range possible of texts that construct this debate and with close reading translate their defining rhetorical characteristics, ideas and world views;
3) Identify the range of positions in the intertextual mix. In Figure 3, for example, these positions are presented on the horizontal axis as the ontological poles of "Postmodernist Destabilizations"and "Modernist Certainties." On the vertical axis the poles chosen are "Actors Problematized" and "Systems Problematized."
4) Identify the textual communities that share a way of seeing and communicating reality; locate them within their space and interrelate communities of vision with space, lines, arcs, arrows, or the like. While resisting all modernist urges to box-in or lay down a grid, locate coordinates outside the field to allow for a less restricted space of intersubjectivity, movement, and choice than provided by Figure 2.
5) Field test the map with the individuals or knowledge communities involved. Share the conflicting interpretations and re-map as desired.

As an oppositional postmodern strategy, social cartography translates across interacting sites of material inscriptions, avoiding the idealist totalities of utopian modernity. This process of mapping and translating seeks to open up meanings, to uncover limits within cultural fields, and, to highlight reactionary attempts to seal borders and prohibit translations. In this lies postmodern mapping's contribution to an anti-hegemonic critique.

Social mapping may also be seen as an emergent methodology from within the hermeneutic mode of inquiry which acknowledges that worlds are constructed and interpreted both objectively and subjectively, that is, that within fields of study or sites of knowledge a dialogue is always taking place which involves meaning systems which are illusive. These meaning systems are formed by those who elaborate them, and an open, intertextual field can be seen to be created by the dialogue. For this reason, the comparative researcher and the reader alike serve as translators within this mode of interpretive inquiry. But as Eisner warns, the researcher now has a three-fold obligation to explicate what point of view is being utilized in the study, to disclose the interrelations of the field or site itself, and to convey something of the personal/professional experiences that have led her/him to choose a particular point of view.

As our social cartography project took form, several dissertations and books mapped situated areas of the theoretical and operational landscapes of comparative and international education. Martin Liebman's thesis (1994), for example, enlarges our understanding of metaphorical analysis in comparative method.[31] Zebun Ahmed's study (1997) maps how village women in rural Bangladesh variously view their nonformal educational experiences with Western NGOs.[32] Kristiina Erkkilä (2000) maps positions in the entrepreneurial education debates in the US, the UK and Finland.[33] Katsuhisa Ito is currently critiquing the project from a human geography viewpoint; Michel Rakatomanana is mapping the debate on new information technologies and educational development; and Mina O'Dowd is mapping how multiple knowledge perspectives can be seen to construct a longitudinal research study in Sweden.[34] In our 1996 project book, Social Cartography,[34] a number of leading U.S., Canadian and international scholars collaborate to demonstrate mapping applications in research practice (i.e. Christine Fox, Esther Gottlieb, Thomas Mouat, Val Rust, Nelly Stromquist, among others), or to critique and counter-argue the book's contention that social mapping is a useful tool for comparative analysis in our time. Carlos Torres and John Beverley, for example, argue critical modernist and subaltern studies positions antithetical to social mapping. Patti Lather interrogates mapping from a radical feminist view, and Joseph Seppi from a traditional positivist position. If indeed all knowledge claims are now problematic, then opposing views will need to be consciously incorporated and juxtaposed in any credible argument or analysis today. As we shall see in the following section on modernist orthodoxy, this will be a hard pill for many true believers to swallow.

Modernist Metanarratives

On the far right side of Figure 3, I pattern illustrative modernist texts in comparative education discourse that oppose in one way or another the postmodern challenge within three broad areas, i.e. 1) Utopian texts that largely reject postmodernist ideas and explicitly counter-attack to defend a core modernist metanarrative (i.e., Universal Reason, or Progress), 2) Critical pedagogy texts that seek to preserve the modernist metanarrative of Emancipation with the selective approriation of postmodernist and/or feminist ideas, and 3) Performativity texts that seek to elaborate a new narrative of reflexive modernity for our time of risk (i.e., what they call "late modernity") when the old modernist master stories of certainty and technological progress have less and less credibility.

In the counter-attack category, Erwin Epstein's chapter, "The Problematic Meaning of Comparison in Comparative Education," presents a spirited defense of totalizing modernist reason and a rejection of what he calls the "challenge of relativism."[35] His text, however, does not recognize postmodernism and its complaints, although that debate was raging then (1988) at a fever pitch in the social science and the humanities. Instead, his targets are phenomenological and ethnomethodological additions to the literature and especially my study summarized in Figure 2. These two perspectives share with postmodernism a non-essentialist understanding of ontology, and view reality as a variously situated construct. In a masterly comparison of what he claims to be incomparable, E. Epstein's text contrasts examples of relativist (i.e. cultural interpretation and phenomenological readings) and realist (i.e. positivist theory-development) perspectives in comparative education. He rightly concludes that they are incommensurable in their assumptions, procedures and aims. His text fails, however, to address the core difference of ontology or how reality is variously seen in order to build the language game, whatever it might be. His either—or approach, while seemingly even-handed, has a strong essentialist bias. To quote:

> Generalizations across societal boundaries define, . . . the comparative method for positivists. For cultural relativists, comparison is a process of observing the distinctiveness of individual cultures. These positions are to be sure incompatible, but they both rest on a procedure that requires multicultural analysis and therefore can said to employ some concept of 'comparison.' This is not so for phenomenological approaches, which carry relativism to a nihilistic

> extreme that allows only for interpretation of highly idiosyncratic interactions within severely limited contextual boundaries. Within such parameters, not even culture is sufficiently contextually delineated to constitute a basis for analysis.[36]

Thus, from an extravagant logical positivist viewpoint that in Pascal's term "will admit only reason," E. Epstein's text contends that one who chooses a phenomenological approach (as in my Figures 2 and 3) cannot be a comparativist. His text argues that the challenge of relativism is a threat not only to the metanarrative of Reason, but also to the viability of comparative education as a field: ie, "only nomothetic explanations—or the discovery of underlying trends and patterns that account for whole classes of actions or events [i.e. covering laws] can support comparison capable of theory development and general laws."[37] Epstein's essentialist text is notable for its epistemological certainty and faith in the positivist story of progress with the discovery of universal regularities, —alas, as yet to be seen.

An Anti-Enlightenment position might well counter-argue Epstein and claim that only relativists can be comparativists because they alone are open to the indeterminacy of being. But that would be a modernist either-or argument. Postmodernists would open to all positions and, as in Figure 3, turn to a spatial representation of "the order of things" that moves us a bit beyond the limitations of opaque language. This would also be my choice, but I must leave it to the reader to assess the comparative utility of Figure 3, and my claim that it does indeed suggest how ". . . the macroscopic configuration of formalized consciousness uncovered in language" might be translated into a spatial visual mode of representation.[38]

A more focused rejection of postmodern ideas, at least as they are present in our work on social mapping, can be found in Keith Watson's recent British Comparative and International Education Society (BCIES) presidential address, and in his review of Social Cartography. These two texts warn the reader off the intellectual temptations of such dangerous postmodern ideas as pluralism, multiplicity and uncertainty—or what Watson erroneously disparages as "New Age Thinking." His text sees postmodernist views as fatally flawed because they offer neither testable hypotheses, criteria for decision-making, nor parameters for interpretation. Such "wooly thinking" is, he complains, written by enthusiasts who are so excited by the novelty of what they are saying that they do not see the weaknesses. Yet, at the same time, he also makes the strange

claim that these overly enthusiastic postmodern cartographers ". . . are [only] putting into diagrammatic form what most sociologists . . . have always recognized."[39]

But Watson's text sees a flaw in heterotopic mapping more serious than intellectual excitement and enthusiasm. He warns that most administrators and aid agency officials may well see social cartography as yet one more example of "esoteric comparative education" that is irrelevant for them. While acknowledging that postmodern mapping can indeed represent the micro narratives of all the players—whether they hold power or are on the margins, his text dismisses the need for such knowledge claiming that educational planners and policy makers require only "hard data" for rational decision making.[40] Here the term hard data is repeated as a mantra and is not defined, nor is any data provided to support Watson's exclusionist claims.

Watson's text would seem to confuse the postmodern social cartography as practiced in Figure 3 above with traditional scientific, or mimetic modeling where the image is assumed to reflect a positive reality that can be known empirically, or ideologically. But with our postmodern mapping of metaphors, the map as with the self can also be portrayed as in a state of Dionysian dispersal that, as with Foucault's notion of heterotopia, reconstitutes a diversity as a provisional unity.

Rational Actor

The Rational Actor, or game theory, position can be seen as a close relation of Anderson's and Watson's modernist metanarrative of Progress. Here, texts seek to develop nomothetic models able to explain and predict educational behavior in universal terms. Raymond Baudon divides these efforts into two types, i.e. the "determinist" and "interactionist."[42] Mary Jane Bowman's model of 1984[43] is cited by David Turner to illustrate the former because it seeks to explain school attendance rates in terms of prior events and to support the discovery of uniform covering laws. Using an analysis of variance, a deterministic approach would suggest that every individual is driven by ". . . the programming that the social structure imposes on him."[44] In this, modernization and Marxist theories share the same certainty and reductionist view. But Turner's text problematizes actors not structures and argues that the determinist model is simplistic and fails to recognize in human behavior features of free will and capriciousness. Social theories and ultimately social laws are, Turner contends, still attainable, but only with the use of an interactive model based on empirical studies of student risk-taking

behavior. Only with the scientific study of individual agents and educational demand, and not just formal structures, Turner's text argues, will progress in educational reform be made.

Critical Modernist

Texts choosing the Critical Modernist perspective characteristically maintain a strong commitment to the modernist metanarrative of Emancipation while seeking to breathe new life and credibility into this flagging Enlightenment project. They do so by selectively appropriating postmodern ideas from anti-essentialist reality positions to shore-up their essentialist foundations. Clearly, this is a difficult—if not confused—task and requires a good deal of qualification and rationalization. A recent text by Peter McLaren presents a prime example of such fancy ontological footwork:

> While I acknowledge the importance of recognizing the conceptual limits of Marxian analysis [i.e. Marxist universals] for reading certain aspects of the postmodern condition, I believe that the main pillars of Marxian analysis, remain intact, i.e. the primacy of economics and the identification of contradictions and antagonisms that follow the changing forces of capitalism. It is important that critical educators not loose sight of these foci [i.e. modernist foundations] in their move to incorporate [anti-foundational] insights from . . . postmodernism.[45]

Here McLaren's text shares the yearning of positivists for certainty in the form of hard data—i.e., ". . . we need to be able to stipulate in specific contexts which effects are oppressive and which are productive of social transformation. I believe that to defend emancipation . . . we must make certain that not all voices are celebrated."[46] Where E. Epstein's counter-attack excludes relativism as the enemy of Enlightenment reason and true comparison, McLaren's text would, like Watson's, silence the ideological Other. In order to avoid just this sort of silencing, I invited Carlos Torres to provide a concluding chapter for our Social Cartography book using a critical modernist perspective antithetical to the book's uncertainty thesis. This practice of incorporating oppositional views into intertextual constructions is seen by pluralists and postmodernists not as masochism, but as paralogy where science opens up from an Apollonian program of testing and verification for truth value to also include a Dionysian process of paralogical deconstruction and a recycling of all knowledge claims. In this way we seek to create a spirited conversation and vouchsafe its continuation.[47] With mapping, as in Figure 3,

Torres' self-privileging metanarrative claim is recognized, and reinscribed into the intertextual field/map not as a master narrative of "General Good," but as another contending mini-narrative, i.e., as perhaps useful 'Minute Particulars' to be assessed in practice.

Torres also recognizes the utility of postmodernist critiques of representation, but only when they avoid what he sees (but does not illustrate) as the pitfalls of extreme relativism and solipsism. Torres' text sees the greatest danger of postmodern views in their emphasis on how language is seen to construct reality. His text sees this postmodern shift from hard data and "correct" ideology to metaphor, multiple perspectives and methodological pluralism as antithetical, even subversive, to the theoretical integrity of his privileged modernist metanarrative of Emancipation. In defense, his text calls for a linguistic hygiene in warning with absolute certainty that ". . . metaphors . . . should have no place in social sciences if they substitute for social theorizing including metatheory (or epistemology), empirical theory and normative theory."[48] Here, Torres' text seems to be deeply suspicious of any but a scientific, analytical method whose goal is not the recovery and confirmation of its own certain ideological origins. While Torres, like McLaren, acknowledges that postmodern ideas may help to make Marxist class analysis less totalizing and deterministic, his text continues to demand a so-called reproduction of the concrete situation in conformance with his ontological choice of theoretical realism and his claims of a universal truth system.[49]

Reflexive Modernity

Texts representing the Reflexive Modernity position share common origins with critical modernist texts. They have, however, been better able—at least superficially—to let go of fading modernist certainties and master narratives. They seek to survive the poststructuralist storms by selectively adapting useful interpretations, stories, and vocabulary from the postmodern literature and choosing the metaphors of late modernity and reflexive modernity.[50] Texts from this burgeoning community retain modernist notions of a unitary and ideal space of a society that is mapped onto the body of a population along with territorial claims of a nation state and a national educational system. At the same time they seem to have lost all hope for certainty and selectively attempt to incorporate and adopt postmodern ideas of fragmentation, polymorphous identity, and discontinuous thought spaces.[51] In the West, and especially in Western Europe, the reflexive systems view recognizes a politics of voice and representation that often seeks to displace a welfare state held to be inefficient and paternalistic. Central to this view, and in

marked contrast to the certainties of critical modernist texts, is the idea that to know how to act we need to know "what's happening?" For this we need to develop a language and a space in which to engage our present willingness to let most, if not all, knowledge perspectives contend and compete.

In comparative education, this reflexive systems view is well illustrated by Robert Cowen's recent text where he claims that Lyotard's analysis of the postmodern condition published in 1979 continues to offer the most accurate assessment of society—and universities—as they move into ". . . the post-industrial age, and as culture moves into what is known as the postmodern age."[52] Lyotard's argument is that today, knowledge is subject to "performativity," or the optimization of system efficiency in the global marketplace. Knowledge has become a technology, i.e., a marketable commodity subject to performativity as well as truth tests. Cowen argues perceptively that these changes define a different kind of comparative education predicated not on the tired old modernist metanarratives of certainty, but on the recognition of a crisis of legitimacy. Where the modern comparative education of John Dewey and Talcott Parsons et al. focused largely on citizen preparation and equality of educational opportunity, in late-modern educational systems the strongest pairing is seen to be between the international economy and efforts to gird educational systems for global competition. Today, Cowen contends that we comparativists will need

> to specify the patterns of muddle in specific national contexts of transition to late-modern education. [Today] the common sense categories of analysis—i.e., school management and finance, administrative structures, the curriculum, teacher education—are now dangerous. Even if we could deduce determined rules from them [as advocates of modernity would have us do] the rules would be a reading of the wrong world.[53]

Coda

To conclude, Cowen cites Bauman's observation that we are no longer legislators, that we should first look to our interpretations. I can only concur, and further suggest that, as comparativists we are, from the look of things, also well positioned to become social cartgographers, able to translate, map, and compare multiple perspectives on social and educational life. And as our intertextual traveling in this study suggests, while our collective work is becoming more post-paradigmatic and eclectic we are, as individuals, also aware of

"sweet spots" or favored sites in knowledge work where we encounter more allies, resources for practice, and options for movement.[54] At the same time, we are learning to recognize and include views of the Other, (as in Figure 4,) thus enlarging the scope of our vision and the diversity, or Minute Particulars, of our representations.

So is there, perhaps, something akin to a General Good writ small to be found in the opportunities arising from comparative education practiced as comparative mappings of disparate world views? This is our challenge today, to understand William Blake's belief that truth is particular, not general, while moving beyond his either-or formulation into a more heterotopic space of critically reflexive self-understanding—as in Figure 3—open to the essentialist texts of late modernity, to the anti-essentialist texts of the postmodernists, and to all the texts that have yet to claim their agonistic spaces.[55]

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FOOTNOTES

[1]For those interested in the intricacies of new social science ideas and terminology in education after modernity, see inter alia Rosa Nidia Buenfil-Burgos, "Education in a Post-Modern Horizon," British Educational Research Journal 23(1997): 97-107; and Fenwick W. English, "The Postmodern Turn in Educational Administration: Apostrophic or Catastrophic Development?" Journal of School Leadership 8(Se[illegible]er, 1998): 426-63. For an accessible introductory textbook on popular culture and the postmodern condition, I use Walter T. Anderson, Reality Isn't What It Used to Be (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990): 288p.

[2]See Isaiah Berlin, Against the current: Essays in the History of Ideas. (New York: Viking Press, 1980) and especially pages 1-24. Berlin identifies the three central ideas of the Anti-Enlightenment as 1) populism, or the view that people can realize themselves fully only when they belong to rooted groups or cultures; 2) expressionism, or the notion that all human works are above all voices speaking or forms of representation conveying a world view; and 3) pluralism, or the recognition of a potentially infinite variety of cultures, ways of seeing and systems of values all equally incommensurable with one another, rendering logically incoherent the Enlightenment belief in a universally valid master narrative or ideal path to human progress and fulfillment. Berlin identifies leading exponents of the Anti-Enlightenment as Niccolo Machiavelli, Giambattista Vico, William Blake, Johann Herder, Alexander Herzen, and inter alia, Georges Sorel and Friedrich Nietzche.

[3]A more detailed exposition may be found in David Owen, ed., Sociology After Postmodernism (London: Sage Publications 1997): 1-22. Owen suggests that postmodern "theory" seeks to shift the work of social science from theorizing truth claims to representing new social and intertextual terrains in constant flux. For a most useful guide to exegetic textual analyses as "close reading," see Chapter 6 in Joseph Francese, Narrating Postmodern Time and Space (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997): 107-154.

[4]Zygmunt, Bauman, Postmodernity (London: Routledge, 1992): 193. Earlier, Michael Foucault, perhaps anticipating the cyberspace revolution, argued that today there has indeed been

a fundamental change of consciousness from time to space: ". . . the great obsessive dread of the nineteenth century was history, with its themes of development and stagnation, crises and cycle, the accumulation of the past, the surplus of the dead. Our own era, on the other hand, seems to be that of space. We are in the age of the simultaneous, of juxtaposition, the near and the far, the side by side, and the scattered. A period when the world is putting itself to the test, not so much as a great way of life destined to grow in time but as a net that links points together and creates its own muddle [as in Figure 3?]. It might be said that certain ideological conflicts which underlie the controversies of our day take place between the pious decendants of time and tenacious inhabitants of space." See his "Of Other Spaces," diacritics (Spring, 1986): 23.

[5]For useful discussions of the reflexive modernity—or late modernity—world view, see Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Samuel Lash, Reflexive Modernization (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994).

[6]Rolland G. Paulston, "Social and Educational Change: Conceptual Frameworks," Comparative Education Review 21 (June and October 1977): 370-371.

[7]C. Arnold Anderson, "Comparative Education over a Quarter Century: Maturity and New Challenges," Comparative Education Review 21 (June and October 1977): 406-407.

[8]Anderson, p. 416.

[9]See Andreas M. Kazamias and Karl Schwartz, "Intellectual and Ideological Perspectives in Comparative Education: An Interpretation," Comparative Education Review 21(June and October 1977): 175-176.

[10]See Val D. Rust, "Postmodernism and its Comparative Education Implications," Comparative Education Review 35 (November 1991): 610-626.

[11]Rust, pp. 625-626.

[12]Rolland G. Paulston and Martin Liebman, "An Invitation to Postmodern Social Cartography," Comparative Education Review 38 (May 1994): 215-232. Here the authors introduce social cartography to comparative educators as ". . .a new and effective method for visually demonstrating the sensitivity of postmodern influences for opening social dialogue, especially to those who have experienced disenfranchisement by modernism," (p. 232). Their social cartography text contends that spatial juxtapositioning provides a new way to seek a more situated truth in a cyberspace era. Now truth is not necessarily grounded in measurable fact alone; it is also predicated on the acquisition of a generosity of vision composed of many truths,

i.e., what postmodern texts call a "multiplicity of witness" and a "democracy of perception." By opening comparison in this way, postmodern social cartography helps actors move outward from subjective truth towards a reintegration of the self into a new social fabric/space composed of multiple voices and stories. This view is labeled "postmodern multiperspectivism" by Francese (1997), who advocates its utility as a safeguard against ". . . any excessively strong, exclusionary reading of the past: the univocal truth that suffocates all others and quickly transmogrifies into reified myth" (p. 130).

[13]Robin Usher and Richard Edwards, Postmodernism and Education (London: Routledge, 1994): 3.

[14]Usher and Edwards, p. 224.

[15]See James Whitson's, somewhat qixotic "Post-structuralist Pedagogy as a Counter-hegemonic Praxis," Education and Society 9 (1991): 79. Texts advocating or applying a postmodern deconstruction perspective can also be found in Kathleen Weiler, "Myths of Paulo Freire," Educational Theory 46 (Summer 1996): 353-371; Allan Luke, "Text and Discourse in Education: An Introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis," Review of Research in Education 21 (1995): 3-48; and inter alia, Ester Gottlieb, "The Discursive Construction of Knowledge" Qualitative Studies in Education 2(2) (1989): 131-144.

[16]Calvin O. Schrag, The Self After Postmodernity (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 7. For the subaltern perspective, see, for example, Chandra T. Mohanty, "Cartographies of Struggle" in Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism, Chandra T. Mohanty, et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1991): 1-49. For an application of the radical alterity perspective to probe the trope of space in feminist studies, see Matthew Spark, "Displacing the Field in Fieldwork" in Bodyspace: Destabilizing Geographies of Gender and Sexuality, ed. Nancy Duncan (London: Routledge, 1996): 212-233.

[17]Diana Brandi, review of Emergent Issues in Education: Comparative Perspectives, edited by Robert F. Arnove, Philip G. Altbach and Gail P. Kelly, in the Comparative Education Review, February, 1994, pp. 159-162. Brandi claims that the "book's structuralist orthodoxy silences questions of how research reflects the views of those under consideration [and] . . . with whose voice asking what questions is this field emerging?" (p. 160). Inclusion of feminist theories on structural adjustment and phenomenological studies of local perspectives, her text contends, would better help oppressed people improve their quality of life.

[18]Irving Epstein, "Comparative Education in North America: The Search for the Other through the Escape from Self?" Compare 25/1 (1995): 14. In contrast to what Epstein's text sees as my proported optimism (I see my viewpoint more akin to Isaiah Berlin's curious combination of idealism and skepticism.) for the field in light of increased tolerance for diversity and corresponding new theoretical constructs, he makes an argument for measured scepticism in evaluating the field's future possibilities. The problem, as he sees it, is that limited understanding of self restricts the scope and possibility of knowledge work within the comparative education field. But, is our lack of reflexive self- knowledge, i.e., our naivete, our bane? If so, could it not be viewed as an educational problem that might be treatable with heterotopic mapping? A third radical alterity example problematizing actors in comparative education texts can be found in Patricia J. Moran, "An Alternative Existence," CIES Newsletter 117 (January 1998): 1, 4. Moran compares two life histories, her own and that of Gail Paradise Kelly, with painful honesty and introspection. Her narrative account of one woman's struggle with the rules of patriarchal modernity provides a valuable pioneering contribution to comparative education, to date a largely logocentric male discourse repelled by the very radical alterity sensibilities that construct Moran's story of self-education.

[19]Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

[20]See Mark Poster, ed,. Jean Baudrillard: Selected Writings (Saint Louis: Telos, 1988).

[21]See the Neo-Marxist critique of Baudrillard's arguments in Douglas Kellner, Jean Baudrillard: From Marism to Postmodernism and Beyond (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989) 152. While Kellner seems to be fascinated with the brilliance and originality of Baudrillard's ideas, he nevertheless sees him trapped by ". . . the absence of a theory of agency and mediation, [by] . . . the impossibility of any sort of agent of political change . . . by the metaphysical triumph of the object over the subject"(p. 216). And yet Kneller concludes, ". . . the appeal of Baudrillard's thinking might suggest that we are [indeed] living in a transitional situation whereby new social conditions are putting into question the old orthodoxies and boundaries" (p. 217).

[22]Ronald Goodenow, "The Cyberspace Challenge: Modernity Postmodernity and Reflections on International Networking policy," Comparative Education 32/2 (1996): 197-216.

[23]Gunther Kress, "Internationalization and Globalization: Rethinking a Curriculum of Communication," Comparative Education 32/2 (1996): 196.

[24]See Jane Kenway, "The Information Superhighway and Postmodernity: The Social Promise and the Social Price," Comparative Education 32/2 (1996): 230.

[25]Mary Wilson, Adnan Qayyam and Roger Boshier, "World Wide America: Manufacturing Web Information." Forthcoming, Distance Education (1999): p. 9.

[26]Donald Schön, The Reflexive Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action (New York: Basic Books, 1982). For a perceptive examination of different traditions in reflexive thought today, see Jonathan Potter, Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction (Sage Publications: London, 1996): 88-96, 228-232. For an imaginative literary attempt to more beyond the tendency of most modern intellectual production to "state, qualify, and conclude," see Elizabeth Deeds Ermath, Sequel to History: Postmodernism and the Crisis of Representation (Princeton University Press, 1992).

[27]Rolland G. Paulston, "Towards a Reflective Comparative Education?" Comparative Education Review 34 (May 1990): 248-258.

[28]Patricia Broadfoot, Introduction in Qualitative Educational Research in Developing Countries, eds. Michael Crossley and Graham Vulliamy (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997): XI-VIII.

[29]Elliot W. Eisner, "The Promise and Perils of Alternative Forms of Data Representation," Educational Researcher (August - September 1997): 9. Anna Sfard, in a related study, warns that the struggle for a conceptual unification of research is not a worthwhile endeavor, that too great a devotion to one particular metaphor can lead to theoretical distortion and undesirable practical consequences. Instead, she rejects Torres' stricture (see note 48) and advocates a discursive approach of "metaphorical mappings," and metaphorical pluralism for conceptual renewal and improved practice. See her richly reflexive study, "On two metaphors for learning and the dangers of choosing just one" Educational Researcher 27(2) (March 1998): 4-13.

[30]Michael Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," p.3. In making his shift from time to space in social analysis, Foucault graciously acknowledges his intellectual debt to Gilles Deleuze—i.e., "Perhaps one day, this century will be known as Deleuzian"—in his Language, Counter-Memory, Practice. Trans. D. F. Bouchard and S. Simon (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977) p. 76. For their original and fecund ideas on concepts seen as territory, and on the necessity of cartographics as a strategy to examine discourse with spatial analysis, see Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guttari, A Thousand Plateaus, Volume 2 of Capitalism and Schizophrenia. Trans, B. Massumi

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980). For the cubism analogy, see Alexander Nehamas, Nietzsche: Life as Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985): 59. I thank Professor Eugenie Potter for also alerting me to this relationship.

[31]Martin W. Liebman, "The Social Mapping Rationale: A Method and Resource to Acknowledge Postmodern Narrative Expression" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1994): 260 p. In postmodern mapping as in postmodern narrative the effort at estrangement moves in two directions simultaneously: one magnifying the subjectivity of perception, the other diminishing any sense of mimetic connection between that subjectivity and the world that seemingly remains intact and apart. Liebman excels in producing this sense of estrangement as a distortion of scale and perception. In the words of Vladimir Nabokov, the objective is to find ". . . a kind of delicate meeting place between imagination and knowledge, a point, arrived at by diminishing large things and enlarging small ones, that [like social mapping] is intrinsically artistic." See Vladimir Nabokov, Speaking Memory: An Autobiography Revisited (New York: Capricorn Books, 1970): 167.

[32]Zebun Ahmed, "Mapping Rural Women's Perspectives on Nonformal Educational Experiences: A Case Study in a Bangladeshi Village" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1997): 261 p. Here Ahmed demonstrates how a mapping of women's stories from the margins can, indeed, provide valuable evaluative data for educational planners—if they will only look and listen.

[33]Kristiina Erkkilä, Mapping the Entrepreneurial Education Debates in the United States, the United Kingdom and Finland (New York: Garland Publishing, Forthcoming, 2000).

[34]See Katsuhisa, Ito, "The Social Cartography Project at the University of Pittsburgh: A Geographer's Assessment" (paper presented at the Western Regional Comparative and International Conference, University of British Columbia, June, 1998): 20 p.; Michel Rakotomanana, "Mapping the Debate on New Information and Communication Technologies (NICTs) and Development: Implications for Educational Planning in Francophone Africa." (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1999): 225 p.; Jorge M. Gorostiaga, "Mapping Debates on Educational Decentralization: The Case of Argentina in the 1990" (paper presented at the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, April 1999) 24 p.; and Mina O'Doud, "Mapping Knowledge Perspectives in

the Construction of Swedish Educational Research" (paper presented at the CIES Annual Meeting, Toronto, Canada, April 1999) 24 p.

[35]Rolland G. Paulston, ed. Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change (New York, Garland Publishing, 1996): 456 p. The interested reader is also directed to a companion project volume in R. G. Paulston, M. Leibman, and J. V. Nicholson-Goodman, Mapping Multiple Perspectives: Research Reports of the University of Pittsburgh Social Cartography Project, 1993-1996. (Pittsburgh: Department of Administrative and Policy Studies, 1996): 226 p.

[36]Erwin H. Epstein, "The Problematic Meaning of 'Comparison' in Comparative Education" in Theories and Methods in Comparative Education, eds. Jürgen Schriewer and Brian Holmes (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988): 3-23. Variations on this metanarrative can be found in George Psacharopoulos, "Comparative Education: From Theory to Practice," Comparative Education Review 34/3 (August 1990); 369-380; and Stephen Heyneman, "Quantity, Quality and Source," Comparative Education Review 37/4 (November 1993): 372-388.

[37]E. Epstein, p. 6.

[38]E. Epstein, p. 22.

[39] See chapter 11, "Foucault Decoded: Notes From Underground" in Hayden White, Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978): 230-260. The quote is from page 239. White concludes that the key to understanding Foucault's method of "transcription" is to be found in how it is used to reveal the inner dynamics of the thought process by which a given representation of the world in words is grounded in poesis: "To translate prose into poetry is Foucault's purpose, and thus he is especially interested in showing how all systems of thought in the human sciences can be seen as little more than terminological formulations of poetic closures with the world of words, rather than with the things they purport to represent and explain". (p.259).

[40]Keith Watson, "Memories, Models and Mapping: The Impact of Geopolitical Changes on Comparative Studies in Education," Compare 28/1 (1998): 5-31. Watson echoes Arnold Anderson's earlier modernization agenda for comparative education, i.e.: "Above all, the work undertaken should have purposeful reformist and practical goals and should be used to inform and advise governments" (p. 28). In his text, Watson offers by way of illustration two structural

functionalist figures: i.e., one of "The determinants of an educational system" (p. 22), and the other of "International influences that shape educational systems" (p. 27). However, it is not clear how these representations meet his criterion for "hard data," especially the latter figure which is coded using world systems ideology and presents a soft critique of international capitalism, in, for example, the "Role of Stock markets, e.g. Tokyo's Hang Seng" (p. 27). But as every Hong Kong school boy knows, the Hang Seng stock market is not in Tokyo, and even supposedly "hard data" may become a bit fuzzy now and then. The Nikkei is, in fact, Tokyo's stock exchange.

[41]See also Keith Watson, review of Mapping Multiple Perspectives by R. G. Paulston, M. Leibman, and J. V. Nicholson-Goodman; and Social Cartography, ed. R. G. Paulston. Comparative Education 34(1) (March 1998): 107-108. While statistical analyses may indeed be useful in technical work, balanced educational assessment requires an alternative practice of formulating judgments not only on assigned numerical ratings, but also on the characteristics of performance in context. Watson's text sees useful knowledge from a rather narrow modernization theory viewpoint (i.e., articulated in simple, essentialist, and mechanistic terms). My view is broader and also welcomes a perspective that sees knowledge as individually and socially constructed and as reflected in particular contexts and discourses that can be mapped and discussed, and remapped. See, in this matter, Genette Delandshere and Anthony R. Petrosky, "Assessment of Complex Performances: Limitations of Measurement Assumptions" Educational Researcher 27(2) (March 1998): 14-24, pp.

[42]Raymond Baudon, The Unintended Consequences of Social Action (London: MacMillan, 1982): 155-159.

[43]Mary Jean Bowman, "An Integrated Framework for the Analysis of the Spread of Schooling in Less Developed Countries" Comparative Education Review 28 (November 1984): 563-583.

[44]David A. Turner, "Game Theory in Comparative Education: Prospects and Propositions" in Theories and Methods in Comparative Education, eds., Jürgen Schriewer and Brian Holmes (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1988): 158.

[45]Peter McLaren, "Critical Pedagogy, Political Agency, and the Pragmatics of Justice: The Case of Lyotard," Educational Theory 44/3 (Summer 1994). See also the related studies by Judith Butler, "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of 'Postmodernism'" in

Feminists Theorize the Political, eds., Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (New York: Routledge, 1992); and Nelly P. Stromquist, "Romancing the State: Gender and Power in Education," Comparative Education Review 39/4 (November, 1995): 423-454. Stromquist suggests that critical gender issues can be appropriated from feminist discourse to support a more liberating ". . . manipulation of gender identities through schooling and the mass media" (p. 454); In this genre, see also Greg Dimitriadis and George Kamberelis, "Shifting Terrains: Mapping Education Within A Global Landscape, The Annals of the American Academy 551 (May 1997): 137-150.

[46]McLaren, p. 338. In contrast to McLaren's call to base critical pedagogy on Neo-Marxist theory updated with selective postmodern appropriations, Jennifer Gore advocates Foucault's strategy of leaving specific tactics and strategies of resistance to those directly involved in struggle at the precise points where their own conditions of life or work situate them. Here the shift is made from a master narrative of emancipation owned by intellectuals to the mini-narratives or small stories arising from situated experiences and actual power relations. See her The Struggle for Pedagogies: Critical and Feminist Discourses as Regimes of Truth (London: Routledge, 1993): 65-66.

[47]For a most valuable study seeking to situate, or map, various contradictory versions of constructivist theory in educational psychology, see Richard S. Prawat, "Constructivisms, Modern and Postmodern," Educational Psychologist 31/3 (1996): 215-225. Prawat uses textual analysis and conceptual mapping, as in this study, to identify and compare complex ways of seeing in their own terms. This is a fine example of a reflexive practitioner viewpoint at work.

[48]Carlos Alberto Torres, "Social Cartography, Comparative Education, and Critical Modernism: Afterthought." In Social Cartography: Mapping Ways of Seeing Social and Educational Change ed., R. G. Paulston (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996): 430. A major problem with the moralistic approach found in many critical modernist texts is that it often leads to a dead end of author self-centering where the marginalized get marginalized still more. Nast puts it like this: ". . . guilt that centers merely on the existence of . . . inequality and not on how inequality can be transformed is . . . unproductively paralyzing." See Heidi Nast, "Opening Remarks on 'Women in the Field,'" The Professional Geographer 46(1) (1994): 54-66.

[49]For a variety of ideas on opening new space for radical critique in a postmodern era, see Herbert W. Simons and Michael Billig, eds., After Postmodernism: Reconstructing Ideological Critique (London: Sage Publications, 1994). I found Richard Harvey Brown's chapter

"Reconstructing Social Theory After the Postmodern Critique" (pp. 12-37) especially helpful in its advocacy of self-reflexive talk-about-talk, and its advice on teaching debates.

[50]See Beck, Giddens and Lash, Introduction.

[51]See, for example Anthony Welch, "The End of Certainty? The Academic Profession and the Challenge of Change," Comparative Education Review 42 (February 1998). Here Welch worries that disruptive postmodern ideas will be used as a stick to drive performativity efforts in the academy. While this, indeed, seems to be underway, his call to reassert a universal ideal of western democracy as an opposing criterion of judgment, as an absolute standpoint to judge the Truth, sounds in our time a bit Eurocentric and nostalgic. For a serious attempt to rethink political space today, i.e., the "hyperspace" of politics in the "global village" in which we all now live, see Warren Magnusson, The Search for Political Space: Globalization, Social Movements, and the Urban Political Experience (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1996): 373.

[52]Robert Cowen, "Performativity, Post-Modernity and the University," Comparative Education 32/2 (1996): 247. For related work framed in this perspective see also, David Coulby and Crispin Jones, "Post-Modernity, Education and European Identities" Comparative Education 32(2) (1996): 171-184; and by the same authors, Postmodernity and European Educational Systems (Stoke-On-Trent: Trentham Books, 1995); Arnold W. Green, "Postmodernism and State Education," Journal of Educational Policy, 9 (1994); and inter alia Jürgen Schriewer, "The Method of Comparison and the Need for Externalization" in Schriewer and Holmes (1988): 25-83 where the text ambitiously advocates a ". . . science of comparative education" based on styles of reasoning, or Denkstile, in ". . . divergent types of theory viz, scientific theories and reflection theories" (p. 30).

[53]Cowen, p. 167. In a related study, Peter Jarvis uses the concept of "late modernity" to situate performativity concerns of non-Western cultures consuming educational knowledge that can now be packaged and marketed globally. See his "Continuing Education in a Late-modern or Global Society," Comparative Education 32(2) (1996): 233-243.

[54]Heidi Ross, Cho-Yee To, William Cave and David E. Blair, "On Shifting Ground: The Post-Paradigmatic Identity of U.S. Comparative Education, 1979-1988" Compare 22/2 (1992): 113-132. As in the study presented here, the authors report finding a ". . . fragmented field constituting chaos for some, and for others a mosaic of diverse and sometimes competing goals, theoretical frameworks, methodologies and claims" (p. 113). In 1988 CIES respondents by and

large ". . . placed their hopes in the multiple possibilities of diversity, and defended the field's eclectic stance as a widening rather than an absence of identity" (p. 127). I locate this view as the "Postparadigmatic Eclecticism" position in the center of Figure 3. It is, perhaps, still the favored perspective of most comparative education practitioners, but a follow-up study is long overdue.

[55]Nigel Blake also addresses this challenge in his perceptive study, "Between Postmodernism and AntiModernism: The Predicament of Educational Studies," British Journal of Educational Studies, 44/1 (March, 1996): p. 64. Blake sees postmodernists resisting the use of a criterion of validity, as advocated here by Watson (i.e., "hard data") and Welch, (i.e., "western democracy") to settle a usage (see notes 40 and 51). This would foreclose other stories and represent a claim to universal assent for one criterion. As such, postmodern theory impugns the value of all inquiry frameworks which make an a priori claim to universal validity. Indeed, it is one of postmodernism's most salient intellectual characteristics to repudiate the notion of uniquely valid or valuable perspectives on itself, or on anything else (p. 43).

Here Nigel Blake reiterates the profound scepticism found in Anti-Enlightenment and postmodern texts about the universal validity of any single master narrative, or grand theoretical story. See Jean-Franciois Lyotard, The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge. Trans. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984) where, with no little irony, the text might well be read as advocating as a master narrative the rejection of metanarratives. Social cartography, as a self-referential heuristic, seeks to avoid this temptation by recognizing and inter-relating all texts and arguments claiming space in knowledge debates.